/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

●173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/98 cont'd/

539 Who (T'ien Shih*) first settled peace in the world?

/* "heavenly teacher," head of the Taoist sect. —Ed./

In the beginning what (P'ing) prince first sat in the palace?
He sat in what chou /district/? (Peking)
He ruled in what dynasty? (T'ang dynasty)
Emperor P'an delimited boundaries in what place? (Fu-tsu Mountains)
How many (Five) paths were opened up and what custom was established? (Marriage)
We ask you what year (The first year of Chia-tzu) did Ko-tou /?"singing bean"/ die?
Who (Hsien, "immortal") took him and buried him on what mountain?
He was buried on what (Nan, "south") mountain facing what direction?
How many (Five) hundreds of mud bricks were put up in a heap?
/99/ Talk of ancient times is endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

539 (c) (The name of this song has been lost; it is also of the
● 173 question and answer form.)
(Preceding part omitted.)
When heaven was opened and earth established, who did it?
When heaven and earth were made, how many pillars were there?
How many chang were there between heaven and earth?
How many chang to heaven, how many chang wide?
There was both birth and death.
Eight days to the east are what kind of countries?
Eight days to the south are what kinds of gates /?/ ?
Eight days to the west are what kinds of countries?
Eight doors to the north are what kinds of gates?

/99 cont'd/

539
173

Flowing from the center, how many stars appear?
We ask you, Spring Officials, let us know.
We ask you when was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
We ask you in which year (The first year of Chia-tze) did the flood subside?
It flowed in what direction? (Koulkun Mts.)
In the beginning how many (Five) princes crossed the oceans?
Where (Transformed corpse) did the branches begin to divide?
What (P'an) prince was born in what palace? (Me-shui Palace)
Where did he succeed (Ch'ing Dynasty) and how (Ten thousand soldiers) well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which (P'an) emperor's rule?
Which (P'an) emperor was capable of ruling the world?
Which (P'an) emperor delimited boundaries at what place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many (Five) paths, and established what custom? (Marriage)
/100/ In the beginning this rule was made by whom? (Emperor P'an)
When it was set up in the world, who (Descendants) was sought?
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothal couples, who (Lü Tsai) devised it?
When it was devised in the world, it concluded what custom? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes, how many (Seven) characters are offered...?
When this is done, how many (Eight) characters conclude what custom? (Marriage)
As for Emperor P'an, who (Wu-yün) brought him up in the beginning?
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
The sacred register was produced in what dynasty? (Ch'ing)
Which (Ch'ing) dynasty set up what custom? (Imperial Gate)
Emperor P'an married what (Hsien) family's daughter?

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This s not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/12 cont./

*101 *175 the thought that the people who call themselves [ɕioŋ˧˥] and those who call themselves [muŋ˧˥] are not of the same origin. Or even if they are of the same origin, there must have been two different names adopted in ancient times. The Hung Miao call themselves [ko˧ ɕioŋ˧˥]. [ko˧˥] is a prefix and [ɕioŋ˧˥] the name proper. But another meaning of [ko˧ ɕioŋ˧˥] is "bamboo tube." (1) For this reason the writers suspect that there is a

1. A magic instrument used by Miao sorcerers, see Illus. 65.

relation between [ɕioŋ˧˥] and the Bamboo King /Chu Wang/.

*101 *175 ●173 The story of the Bamboo King was reported earliest in "Nan Chung Chih" of Hua-yang Kuo chih by Ch'ang Ch'ü in the Chin period. The story is as follows: "The Bamboo King arose in the Tun-shui region. A girl was bathing in the river when a large bamboo with three nodes flowed in between her legs. She pushed it away, but the bamboo refused to move. Suddenly she heard a child crying inside. She took the bamboo home and broke it open and found a baby boy, who grew up to be a talented and brave man, and led the barbarians. He took "Chu" /bamboo/ as his surname, and threw away the broken bamboo in the wilderness, where it grew into a bamboo grove, which is the present-day bamboo grove of the Temple of the Bamboo King. The King went one day with his followers to a great rock, where he asked for soup. His followers replied that there was no water; whereupon he hit the rock with a double-edged sword. Water gushed forth, forming the present-day Bamboo King River. The broken rock still remains....Emperor Wu-ti made T'ang Meng a military commander to annex the Tsang-kou region. Valuable gifts were given to various tribal kings who submitted to the Emperor. The Bamboo King was executed. Tsang-kou was made a prefecture, and Wu Pa the prefect. The prefectures of Yüeh-hsi, Chu-t'i, and I-chou were also established. After-

/12 cont./

*101 *175 ●173 [776] ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan /History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo, she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him. When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him. The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him, asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was [776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yêh-lang Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based *101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly. *175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians, but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang. Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/ "Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u (Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang,

/13:cont/ /

no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in /14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and meaning of /ko¹ qiong²/, a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

2:Ling & Ruey--27 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/15 cont./

•173
167
[113]

1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

[113]

2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

[113]

3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

/15 cont./
173
167
prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the

4. Same as above, pp. 115-19.

Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the

5. Same as above.

above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely

1. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, pp. 115-19.

upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a
173 mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
754 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shuts her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her
754 clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 **Historical.** Chinese literature has references to the province of Kweichow and its peoples from the days of Shen-nung, when Emperor Yen married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui, from the southern part of the present

[5c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

province. It is a fascinating story. Native states were conquered and reconquered; clans whose names are still to be found among those known as "Old Chinese" were transported to the province; companies were led in by their

[5 d]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.[2a] During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140–135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials.

[6a]

563 **Division of Peoples and Their Location.** S. R. Clarke [3] divides the people of the province

[2a] Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945. [3] Clarke, 1911.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 **Tradition of Origin.** According to Miss Li,[11] with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

131 **Present Distribution.** They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

[11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[8c]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means "embroidery" also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

their reading and writing for them. All proclamations and official notifications, all pleas and counter-pleas in law cases have to be written in Chinese. When a Miao headman receives a dispatch from the magistrate, he has to find some one to read it for him and write his reply. All their contracts, mortgages, and deeds of sale or rental are written in Chinese, and not one in a hundred of them when he buys a piece of land is able to read the deed of sale when it is written. 212

A man once explained to me how it happens that they have no written language. He said that many years ago the Miao were living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese, and the Chinese were too crafty for them, so they determined to move westward and live by themselves. At that time they knew a few characters, but evidently knew very little else. After travelling for many days they came to a vast sheet of water, and, having no boats, were unable to proceed. As some of them stood perplexed at the edge of the water, they noticed some water-spiders moving about on the surface of it, and they said one to another, "If these little things can walk on the water, why cannot we?" Thereupon they tried to walk on the surface of the water, which nearly cost them 212 173

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 their lives. Before they managed to get back
173 again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉鵲苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoɔ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

VIII. LEGENDS

538 It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

538 Among the great variety of songs and legends one is 173 historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538
173

and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Chêng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538 173 There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

538 773 The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒe sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17 Miao AES

Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Çhou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-çhou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/8 cont./

A 101 The Akha call themselves Ăkhā, but are called "Kō" by the Haw and the Thai peoples near Kengtung. This name was accepted by all the Thailanders, the Schan, and other peoples with whom the Akha came into contact. The identity of the A [482] [415] name for the basket carried with the shoulder board (ăkhā), which is found among no other mountain people of this region, and the tribal name of the people, for which there is no explanation, is striking. Concerning the meaning of the name, we find in the literature only the following reference in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (4): "They (the Akha, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are better known under the name Kaw /Ill. 1-6 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /9/ or Hka-kaw. The prefix kha, as in all similar cases, designates 'slave' or 'subjugated people.' In some areas they call themselves Akhŏ." This could perhaps be an explanation for the designation used for the Akha by the other peoples, but it in no way explains the indigenous name.

4. Part I, Vol. I, p. 588.

/10/

Chapter 2
History

M
● 173 According to Savina, Meau tradition (see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales") reports that "after the confusion of tongues" they turned toward a high plateau and then toward a territory in which the "antipodes" of their present-day sites in China were to be found. This territory allegedly was completely covered with snow and ice; day and night alternated after each had lasted for six months; and the people there were small and wore fur clothing. Savina (1) continues thus: "When our ancestors left these regions, they settled down in Honan, where the Meau had their first settlements in China."

1. II, p. xi.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 15]

/10 cont./

174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/22 cont./

131 there, too, east of the Menam /Mae Nam/, a similar broad
[175] expansion of the Meau to the south is confirmed." A chart supplementing his discussion shows the area of Meau settlement as the mountains of northern Thailand at altitudes above 1,000 meters, where they occur sporadically, as well as the central cordillera at 16° 35' north latitude as the southernmost occurrence (1).

1. Credner, IV, p. 137.

/Today we therefore find settlements of the Meau at a distance of only 300 kilometers as the crow flies from Bangkok. Since they are now approaching the spurs of the mountain ranges which follow the Menam, the question arises as to whether they can finally be made sedentary or whether there will be further movement southward. Such a movement, however, in view of the conditions and the geographic situation forcing the Meau to maintain a southward direction, would lead into the peninsula of Thailand and the Malay Peninsula, which would mean a descent into the tropical forest climate. This would presumably bring about a biological catastrophe for the mountain peoples. At any rate, their future development will also be of colonial-ethnological interest.

● 173 The Meau whom I investigated in Thailand, according to their own statements, came from Yunnan. Luang Boriphand Dhuraratsadorn (2), too, gives the "Haw country (Yunnan)"

2. Page 157.

/cited in English/ as the homeland of the White Meau. Undoubtedly his statement is also based upon information from the Meau, who, if we refer back to Savina's (3) findings summarized

3. II, p. vii.

above, regard Tonkin merely as a way station on their route from Yunnan and have remained historically aware of their migration route.

/22 cont./

173 [115] This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/ [148] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 [131] The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been reported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at [197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

/40 cont./

173 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my
643 informants told me, their last king waged war against the
648 Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements. After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re-
643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation
668 for king – văn tsŏ has survived. Even today they believe that
643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau
634 concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tsŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/

Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and